351 [40 cont.]
796
784
211
[177]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven,
[792] always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however. -- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.

[43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is
[151] marked not out of fear of the spirits, but

351 [40 cont.]
796
784
211
751

[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.] rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

192
792

Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gẽlõñba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sañ (10); šge sañ = great H.; mula sañ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsũordzi and the känbõ. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this Chinese name for everything that is the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, in other words, also for the incarnations

[778]
[775]

[68 cont.]

192
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse – obo, yar = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rĕdziõ̃ň: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndziġdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzē dzidziġa = obo chicks.

Obo sheep-offering: lawdzē tada xoni šēñlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.

[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzē tada mošguni.

The offerings: yilenē šēñlie = total offerings.

To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sō-.

To set up a tent: bekārge posġuo-.

[541] Horse racing: mori holilġa = to make horses race.

Whose horse is fast: kāni mori gurdā?

[526] Shooting competition: sēmu sēmuda- = to shoot arrows.

Whose skill with weapons is great: kāni xuawu šgewa?

The young people wrestle: mula kunsgē walde-.

Whose strength is great: kāni kudzi šgewa?

Large and small sing together: šge mulasgē nigē dōlā-.

Whose songs are many: kāni dō uluona?

[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzē šda rĕdziõ̃ň (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].

[527] Obo festival: lawdzē šdodlō, mori holġani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.

[621] [757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzē ayili kun, ase, mulā-sēla, nasā, ġuosāni furõ̃ňlāni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.

[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

[76 cont.]

*778 and incense, as an obo is. On these occasions new clay cones
346 are thrown into it through the gaps. Usually this is on the first,
782 eighth, and fifteenth day of the month. At other times, too, however, in case of emergency and misfortune, the people venerate the chorten chamber. The procession always goes from west to east, in other words, not in the direction of the course of the sun.

*778 Meaning: The chorten chamber is connected with the
[776] mountain-spirit and earth-god. The column establishes the
[772] connection with the sky. The chamber holds down the hostile
[751] earth-influences. Thus it protects against misfortune and illness (6).

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6. [Foreign text p. 79.] The urn, the mountain, and the tree are essential for the bẽṅkaṅ. Therefore it belongs in the same conceptual realm as the central fort in the yard, namely, the widespread myth of heaven and earth, joined (or separated) by the world-tree. In this connection, in the case of the central fort the mani-flag might be Lamaist-secondary, and in the case of the chorten chamber the sasa-mountain, which consists of the mani-cones, as they are sometimes called. -- Now that a house is built over it, it is probably quite secondary. It evidently only has the function of protection and no inner relationship to its contents. It is striking that the sky column likewise is not erected as the bearer of the ridge-piece; it is freestanding and does not extend to the beam. Also, in the case of the customs

[772]

[171]

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the
776 demon will punish him.
688

Word List

192 Demon escort: rĕdzõ̃ńwa (Tib.?) ġarġani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzë (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

000 3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

751
755
789 Report
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[777] . . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.
[778] On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter
[782] and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing. There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [i.e - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[847 cont.]

Details

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757
755 Time: Ordinarily the ceremony takes place when a child is sick. It can also be undertaken, however, as a preventive measure against [848] sickness. Then the third or ninth month is chosen by preference.

789
791 Place: One stays in one's own house and does not go into the local temple; the Bon priests also live in the compound. The place is taboo during these days. The burning of the objects must always be done outside the place.

789
782 The prayer service: For the prayer service the Bon priests bring along a large double drum, which is suspended from a beam (1), and, furthermore, sounding plates, a hand bell,
791
[534]

1. [Foreign text p. 849.] By means of a ring the drum is suspended from a beam in the room with a cord. The Bon sticks one finger of his left hand through the second ring on the drum and thus pulls the drum tight so that it does not swing back and forth. At the same time he also holds in his left hand a sounding plate. In his right hand he has drum sticks and the second sounding plate, so that through skillful handling he can beat both instruments at the same time.

bone flute, and Tibetan prayer texts. The prayer service takes place four times a day, namely, at sunrise, after the morning tea, at noon, and in the evening; the incense offering is made in the yard each time.

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examines their position. "All right!" he cries. "all events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days. 796 756 782

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time during which these rites are performed in one village after another, everywhere children are encountered wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure them and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits. 782 784 789 751

These practices give evidence that the belief in human sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed upon them by a more civilized environment than that 782 [115] [122]

[p. 112 (A)]

753

753 THEORY OF DISEASE--extent of the attribution of disease to natural causes, to sorcery, and to supernatural aggression; prevalent theories of the supernatural causation of disease (e.g., soul loss, spirit possession, object intrusion, poison, evil eye, violation of taboos, pollution or contagion); special notions about loathsome diseases (e.g., leprosy); scientific theories of disease (e.g., transmission through germs); etc. See also:

Religious and magical beliefs 77
Incidence of disease 164
Medical research 742
Conception of the causes of death 761
Development of biological science 815
Knowledge and beliefs concerning human physiology 827
Interpretation of mental disorders 828

[862 cont.]

782 3. Two pieces of wood from the red and white sandal tree.
824 4. A large quantity of burning-spices, which the family itself must provide: white rape kernels, white hemp seeds, black hemp seeds, wheat, Tibetan barley, white peas, glutenous rice, white barley, certain Tibetan herbs, Tibetan flowers, a Tibetan species of reed-grass, and white grass from Tsinghai. 5. Consecration-wood. The consecration-wood varies according to the type of fire-pouring. For the [863] white fire-pouring one uses branches of the white poplar; in all there are 46 pairs of pieces of branch. Every piece has a length of nine fingerbreadths and must have formed three side twigs. These side twigs are cut off at a length of three fingerbreadths. The cut surfaces of the pieces must all run at right angles, not at a slant. The bark is left on; one may not damage it, otherwise the gift-master and his [753] relatives will later have a bad skin-eruption. In order to avoid its becoming torn, the cut surface is smeared with butter. Instead of poplar wood, tamarisk wood is also permitted. This by nature is very straight and free of branches. For this reason, in contrast to the pieces of poplar, they may not show any branch attachments. The length, however, must be the same. The color of the tamarisk wood is red (2). 6. The six spices of

2. [Foreign text p. 867.] Nothing could be discovered about the symbolism of the various types of wood. That would be interesting, especially on account of the requirement of the branch attachments.

the incense offering. They are likewise provided by the gift-master. 7. The 74 types of earth-god spices, which the lama brings with him, already pounded to powder.

782 Preparation of the burnt offerings: The lama prepares
792 the burnt offerings on the afternoon of the sixth day. In each case he puts one kind of the burning-spices in an earthen vessel, mixes it with the five kinds of grain, pours liquid butter over it,

[204 cont.]
776 of the Bon, the Däntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call [788] sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full [756] warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom [782] the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are combated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Däntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
[769] ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[764] the deceased would remain among the living and would need to
[782] partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are
so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
[513] even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[753] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined
is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said
that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape
of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
[756] for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[755] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This
catching of the soul is called: suniedzẽ xura-. It is unclear from
this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same
as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central
Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru
(rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun,
moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the
earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals.
Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the under-
world and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety
or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found
most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less
clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the
chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-
drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

4; Schram, M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and the group then marched three times around the Obo. I heard the details of this unusual rite from Monguors who had attended the ceremony.

Just as women are not allowed to enter the temples of the spirits of the Obo, and are excluded from the rites performed at the top of the Obo in the sixth moon, they were also excluded from these rites of restoration of the forces of the spirit of the Sha-t'ang valley. It is for this reason that the Obo festivities, horse races, wrestling, in the sixth moon, are performed at the foot of the mountain, so that women can attend. When women encounter an Obo on their way, they always avoid passing in front of it—the "front" being usually the south or southeast.

The mentality of the Monguors regarding the spirit of the Obo explains their reverence for them. A Monguor will always dismount from his horse when he passes an Obo. He will never fail to add some white stones to the heap, to cry at the top of his voice, honoring the spirit, to prostrate himself nine times, to throw some coins, some flour, a roll of bread on the stone heap, or to smear some butter on the offering table.[21]

It is not only the common people who act in this way. I saw the T'u-kuan Living Buddha, when passing the Obo of Sung-hua-ting, send some lamas ahead to perform the rite of Wei-sang.

CULT OF THE SACRED HILL OF THE VILLAGE

The cult of the sacred hill of the village is performed like the cult of the Obos. A small Obo is built on top of the hill, and a pole is erected. Under the pole is buried the "precious bottle" (urn), the specific offer to the earth god; ropes with flags are attached to the pole and spears planted in the stone heap piled around the pole. Obviously, the dimensions of this Obo are smaller than those of the Obos of the five mountain spirits, and perhaps because of this they are not called Obo, but the "sacred hill of the village."[22]

On New Year's each family sends a member to the sacred hill to enact the rite of Wei-sang and libation. On the fifteenth of the first moon the chiefs of the villages, with the elders and the inhabitants, officially go to the sacred hill, offering a sheep, performing Wei-sand, burying an urn, and making a libation. On the third of the fifth moon a similar group performs the same rites, in order to strengthen the vitality of the spirit of the sacred hill, which, according to the Monguors, must be in full strength in order to help avert hailstorms. Epidemics and epizootics are supposed to be caused by the outraged spirit of the sacred hill, which must be propitiated by a sheep offering and Wei-sang rite, performed by the whole village.

Devout people go on the first and fifteenth of the month to perform Wei-sang and libation. Monguors

[21] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 63.

[22] R. Rahmann, Remarks on the sacrifice of Heaven of the Na-khi, *Monumenta Serica* 13: 406 *sqq.*, 1948.

[p. 115 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In the Ordos region there is encountered a text which 769
is still recited at the festivities in honor of Khutuktai Setsen Kung Taiji, great-grandfather of Sanang Setsen, by a lay official called *djumu*, who presides over the sacrifices offered on the grave of the hero being worshipped. Father Mostaert has called my attention to the fact that such invocations always start with the invitation to come down and to rest for awhile in the midst of the congregation. The invitation is first to Chingis Khan, his wives, his sons, and ministers, and continues with the same invitation to the hero honored at the moment, followed by an invitation to his glorious descendants, the spirits of earth, and the four points of the compass. Then the spirits are invited to enjoy the offerings, which are enumerated, and to extend their protection over the worshippers. Such conventions of the Mongols of the Ordos take place, like those of the Monguors, in the presence of a great number of invited spirits and departed ancestors, who are supposed to descend among the worshippers.[2]

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE FAMILIES

In order to avoid repetitious descriptions of practices 753
concerning the curing of ailments, prevention of diseases among children, and means to undo the harm wrought in families by evil spirits, which are encountered in all the books dealing with shamanism and Lamaism, and are nearly the same everywhere, only a few practices will here be recorded revealing the peculiar ways and psychology of the Monguors.

The Monguors, nominally fervent adherents of Lamaism, ought to ascribe ailments and all kinds of mischief and calamities to their own acts in some former life, according to the law of retribution. They should, therefore, wait peacefully for a happy recovery and for an end to the calamities. In fact, however, as soon as a member of the family takes ill, or some harm is done, without inquiring a bit about the possible natural causes of the disease or other trouble, they imagine themselves confronted by evil spirits, or having themselves stirred the spleen of some spirit. Accordingly, they do not invite a doctor and try medicines, or try to help themselves, but run in a hurry to the man who can withstand the evil spirits, conjure them and drive them away. Such men are always at hand—lamas of the Yellow and Red Sects, white or black shamans, and the Kurtain.

The first problem facing all these troubled people is 755
to detect the trouble-making spirit, and then to find the means either to placate the spirit, or to combat it and drive it away.

The theatrical Kurtain, possessed by his spirit, declares with his head shaking that in his trance he knows the culprit, and starts immediately with wild evolutions to combat it and drive it out of the house with his

[2] F. A. Mostaert, Ordosica, *Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking*, Nov. 1934: 58.

[P 127 (B)]

Seerting group, but also among some families living in the Hung-nai and Ha-la-chih Valleys. It is said that long ago an old lama of Sung-chan-i (P'ing-fan hsien) introduced the cult of this spirit in the country. It has only one eye in front, and its image is honored not in the living room but behind the entrance gate of the courtyard. Many Monguors do not like to marry their daughters into families where this spirit is honored, and those who honor it are afraid to get rid of its cult, for fear of calamities. The spirit notices all visitors and watches to see whether some evil intent is not lurking behind the visit. It is said that when an undesired guest lingers waiting for dinner, Sturlong causes him tremendous intestinal troubles so that he has to run away. At the time when the dowry for a girl of the family is discussed, and the head of the family suggests that the part required by the lord of the family is not yet fixed, the go-betweens understand the hint and promise a goat for Sturlong. On the wedding day, a few moments before the bride will leave, a goat is set before Sturlong who avidly devours its prey and does not notice the bride leaving. At the time an animal is to be sold, its price is discussed not at the home of the proprietor but outside the courtyard, in order to avoid Sturlong knowing about it.

Still another spirit is honored, which steals in behalf of the families that honor it. Its cult is practiced especially in the Hung nai Valley. The Chinese call it *Mao-kui-shen* "cat spirit." It is a male spirit for which young women prepare a blanket at night, and which they "serve." On the tenth moon it steals grain and brings it to the granaries of its devotees. If guests arrive unexpectedly at noon and the food prepared is not sufficient, it is so potent that it can add food enough for all the guests by unknown means. When thieves come at night, it spirits away the things they intend to steal. However, it cannot steal Chinese coins, because Chinese characters are stamped on them; it cannot steal cloth in behalf of its devotees, because on both ends of a piece of cloth are printed the brands of the fabric. It cannot take things out of a closet which is tightly closed, but when the door is open it takes what it needs. It likes to drink liquor. A young woman poured liquor for it, one cup after another, until the cup remained full. In the blanket she found a drunken cat, which her husband killed. These tales resemble those recounted by the Mongols, concerning the well-known fox-spirit.[12]

[12] Here should be noted the very interesting study of F. A. Oberle, S.V.D., dealing with a similar frame of mind, with practices, some similar and some differing, encountered among the Tibetans of the region of Kui-te, 200 *li* south of Hsining on the right bank of the Yellow River, and among a group of Tibetans living 60 *li* west of Hsining called Chia-hsi-fan by the Chinese, i.e., Tibetans living in houses in contrast to the Tibetans living in tents. However, I never heard the Monguors explaining the rites performed against the avenger of the family wealth, suggesting the avenger having the appearance of a "Hundekopfdämon," an evil spirit with a dog head. See

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Does the joke played during the spring feasts between the shamans, concerning the making of men and women by the good Tengris, and the storm caused by the nefarious Erlik in order to disturb the good actions of Tengris, not warrant also the same assumption? Or is the struggle between two opposite powers a specific characteristic of shamanism? If so, it is no wonder that shamanism was a field well prepared for the planting of Manichaeism, with its dualistic principle of light and darkness, whose powers were engaged in an endless struggle. 771

BEHAVIOR OF THE MONGUORS TOWARDS HEAVEN

The whole day long the Monguors, like their neighbors the Chinese, use the word "Heaven" in their conversation. They use the Chinese expressions: "Heaven knows it," "Heaven sees all things," "It is impossible to cheat Heaven," "Heaven punishes him," "Heaven rejects him," "Heaven does not bless him," "Heaven determines destiny," "It was decided by Heaven"; even a child born out of wedlock or by a girl married with the pole, is called "born by Heaven." 772

One can easily be impressed by this fact and induced, at first glance, to believe that the Monguors are very dutiful toward Heaven, and harbor convictions that they depend entirely on Heaven; that they trust in Heaven alone in all circumstances of life, and that Heaven is considered the omnipotent, omniscient, equitable regulator of the universe and its inhabitants. However, when a happy event is announced they clap their hands, and with a gleam in their eyes happily say, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when bad news is broken they say pitifully and sorrowfully, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when they are suffering with pain, or when a calamity is imminent, they will sigh imploringly, crying, "Om Mani, Om Mani . . . help us!" The first cry of the heart is never a cry toward "Heaven" but the Om Mani to Buddha, for everybody knows that Buddha, who knows all things, is the personification of benevolence, always willing to help. 772 788 776

What is the factual position of Heaven in the fabric of the daily life of the Monguors? After the first surge of emotion and the cry to the benevolent Buddha, the "practical" Monguors start reasoning about the causes of the mischief. Because their world is crowded with mischievous spirits, they try to detect the mischief-maker, or to determine whom among the spirits they have injured. When a member of the family is smitten with a severe disease, they suspect that they have offended the god who is the proprietor of the soil of their courtyard, the god of the hearth, the guardian deity of the family, or that they are the victims of the pranks of some evil spirit or of roaming souls which they had neglected to feed. Epizootics and epidemics, are supposed to be sent by the offended god who is the proprietor of the village or of the Obo. Lack of success 772 776 [753]

[P. 150 (3)]